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Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL IZMIR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USNMR SHAPE
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TAGS:PEPR, MASS, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT: SELECTED US PRESS COVERAGE OF DEPSEC CHRISTOPHER'S
TRIP - 3

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF EDITORIAL THAT APPEARED IN
THE NEW YORK TIMES MARCH 31.

QUOTE: THE WAY BACK FROM CYPRUS. SINCE 1974, WHEN TURKISH
TROOPS, USING AMERICAN WEAPONS, OCCUPIED TWO-FIFTHS OF THE

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ISLAND OF CYPRUS, RELATIONS BETWEEN ANKARA AND WASHINGTON HAVE BEEN SOUR. CONGRESS HAS LIMITED THE FLOW OF ADDITIONAL ARMS UNTIL TURKEY PULLED BACK ITS FORCES; SUCCESSIVE TURKISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE REFUSED TO DEFINE THEIR CONDITIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL UNDER SUCH PRESSURE. BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY WILL END UP LOSERS IF NO WAY CAN BE FOUND TO BREAK OUT OF THIS BIND. TURKEY COULD POINT THE WAY BY REVEALING ITS PROPOSALS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

TURKEY'S INVASION WAS SCARCELY UNPROVOKED. THE 18 PERCENT TURKISH MINORITY ON CYPRUS HAD NEVER BEEN WELL TREATED BY THE GREEK MAJORITY. AND IN JULY 1974, A COUP BROUGHT TO POWER A HARD-LINE GREEK-CYPRIOT FACTION THAT SEEMED LIKELY TO TAKE EVEN LESS ACCOUNT OF TURKISH-CYPRIOT RIGHTS. AL-THOUGH THE INSURGENT REGIME LASTED ONLY A FEW DAYS, THAT WAS LONG ENOUGH TO PRECIPITATE ANKARA'S INVASION.

ANKARA HAS REACTED TO THE LIMIT ON ARMS SALES--DOLS 175 MILLION THIS YEAR--BY SHARPLY RESTRICTING AMERICAN USE OF NATO FACILITIES IN TURKEY. UNDER STEADY PRESSURE FROM GREEK-AMERICANS, CONGRESS HAS REMAINED FIRM. BUT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY DEPLORED THE CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTIONS AS HARMFUL TO NATO--AND THUS CAUSED THE GREEK
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GOVERNMENT TO CURTAIL ITS MILITARY COOPERATION WITH NATO. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS TRIED TO STRADDLE THE ISSUE. IT HAS CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS FOR A DEFENSE AGREEMENT THAT WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE AMERICAN MILITARY AID TO TURKEY. BUT IT HAS IMPLIED THAT IT WOULD NOT CONCLUDE THE AGREEMENT UNTIL THERE HAD BEEN PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. EARLY THIS MONTH, SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE WAS EXPLICIT: WASHINGTON WOULD NOT MOVE, HE TOLD CONGRESS, UNTIL IT HAD EXAMINED PROPOSALS FOR CYPRUS PROMISED BY TURKEY'S NEW PRIME MINISTER, BULENT ECEVIT.

MORE INTOLERABLE "LINKAGE," RESPONDED MR. ECEVIT--AND THIS TIME FROM THE ADMINISTRATION, NOT MERELY FROM CONGRESS. HE COUNTERED WITH REVERSE LINKAGE: NO CYPRUS PROPOSALS UNTIL THE HEAT IS OFF. THAT MESSAGE, AND SUBSEQUENT HINTS THAT TURKEY MIGHT WITHDRAW ITS HALF-MILLION MEN FROM NATO'S COMMAND AND EVEN SIGN A NONAGGRESSION PACT WITH MOSCOW, CAUSED A HIGH-LEVEL AMERICAN DELEGATION TO HURRY TO ANKARA THIS WEEK TO ATTEMPT TO SET THINGS RIGHT.

THAT WON'T BE EASY. STRONG SENTIMENT CONTINUES IN CONGRESS THAT TURKISH CONCESSIONS ARE NECESSARY BEFORE NORMAL MILITARY RELATIONS CAN RESUME. THAT SENTIMENT IS JUSTIFIED. TURKEY BROKE UNITED STATES LAW AND VIOLATED THE SPIRIT OF ITS ALLIANCE WHEN IT USED AMERICAN WEAPONS TO EXPEL GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM THEIR HOMES AND FARMS. HAVING MADE ITS POINT, ANKARA SHOULD NOW PULL BACK. GREEK CYPRIOTS--AND

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GREECE--REALIZE THERE CAN BE NO RETURN TO THE OLD ARRANGE-
MENTS ON CYPRUS. THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS
SHOULD ENJOY NEARLY COMPLETE AUTONOMY, INCLUDING A TER-
RITORIAL ZONE OF THEIR OWN, BUT ONE PROPORTIONATE TO THE
SIZE OF THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT POPULATION.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT BOTH PRIME MINISTER
ECEVIT AND THE TURKISH MILITARY LEADERSHIP WOULD LIKE TO
PULL BACK. BECAUSE THE TURKISH OCCUPATION FORCE IS THE
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CENTRAL ISSUE IN CONTENTION, THE FIRST MOVES MUST COME
FROM ANKARA. SINCE THE ISSUE CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST
EXPLOSIVE ONE IN TURKEY'S POLITICS, SUCH A MOVE WOULD BE
PAINFUL. BUT MR. ECEVIT IS IN A STRONG PARLIAMENTARY
POSITION; UNLIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, HE DOES NOT DEPEND UPON
ULTRANATIONALISTS FOR HIS MAJORITY.

TURKISH DISSOCIATION FROM NATO WOULD BE COSTLY TO THE
UNITED STATES. BUT IT IS THE TURKS WHO SHOULD CALCULATE
THE BENEFITS OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN NATO; IT IS THEY
WHO FACE THE RISKS OF WEAKENED TIES TO THE WEST. MEAN-
WHILE, THOSE WHO WOULD SUPPORT NATO BY LIFTING THE RE-
STRICTIONS ON ARMS TO TURKEY SHOULD REMEMBER THAT CYPRUS
IS JUST AS EMOTION-WRENCHING AN ISSUE IN GREECE. IT
WOULD NOT STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE TO APPEASE TURKEY AT
THE EXPENSE OF TURMOIL IN GREECE. END QUOTE.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FRONT PAGE ARTICLE BY JOHN M.
GOSHKO THAT APPEARED IN THE WASHINGTON POST APRIL 1.

QUOTE: U.S., TURKEY SAID TO AGREE ON ARMS PACT. PRESI-
DENT CARTER AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT HAVE
REACHED AGREEMENT ON A PLAN FOR LIFTING THE U.S. ARMS EM-
BARGO THAT HAS SERIOUSLY STRAINED THE NATO ALLIANCE, IN-
FORMED SOURCES SAID YESTERDAY.

UNDER THE PLAN, THE SOURCES SAID, CARTER WILL ASK CONGRESS
TO REPEAL THE 3-YEAR-OLD EMBARGO IN EXCHANGE FOR ECEVIT'S
DROPPING HIS THREAT TO CLOSE U.S. BASES IN TURKEY PERMAN-
ENTLY AND LOOSEN HIS COUNTRY'S TIES WITH NATO.

AS A CONCESSION TO CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORTERS OF A CONTINUED
EMBARGO, THE PLAN ALSO CALLS FOR SCRAPPING A PROPOSED
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FOUR-YEAR DOLS 1 BILLION DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT
PROVIDING U.S. MILITARY AID TO TURKEY.

INSTEAD OF ASKING CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE FOUR-YEAR PACT,

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THE SOURCES SAID, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL SEEK TO MAKE MILITARY GRANTS AND SALES CREDITS AVAILABLE TO TURKEY ON A YEAR-TO-YEAR BASIS. THAT WOULD ENABLE CONGRESS TO REVIEW TURKISH AID REQUESTS EACH YEAR WHEN IT VOTES ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUDGET.

THE SOURCES SAID AGREEMENT ON THE PLAN WAS WORKED OUT THIS WEEK DURING DISCUSSIONS IN ANKARA BETWEEN ECEVIT AND DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN M CHRISTOPHER, WHOM CARTER HAD SENT TO TURKEY MONDAY.

IF THE DETAILS OF MINOR POINTS INSISTED ON BY TURKEY ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WHITE HOUSE, THE PRESIDENT IS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE THE AGREEMENT IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS RETURN NEXT WEEK FROM AFRICA, THE SOURCES SAID.

REPORTS FROM ANKARA YESTERDAY QUOTED ECEVIT AS TELLING REPORTERS: "I AM IN A POSITION TO SAY THAT WE HAVE COME

TO A HOPEFUL AND SIGNIFICANT STAGE TO SMOOTH OUT THE RELATIONSHIP." HE REFUSED, THOUGH, TO DISCUSS ANY DETAILS.

IF THE AGREEMENT GOES THROUGH, THE SOURCES SAID, IT IS EXPECTED TO LESSEN GREATLY THE TENSIONS THAT HAVE TROUBLED U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS SINCE TURKEY'S 1974 INVASION OF CYPRUS.

TURKEY'S CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND NATION, WHICH HAS AN 80 PERCENT GREEK POPULATION, ANGERED THE SIZABLE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND ITS SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS.
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IN 1975, THE SO-CALLED GREEK LOBBY WON CONGRESSIONAL PASSAGE OF A U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. TURKEY RETALIATED BY CLOSING DOWN MOST OF THE U.S. BASES THERE--BASES THAT THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT REGARDS AS VITAL TO THE EFFECTIVE DEFENSE OF NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

SINCE THEN, THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO ALLOW TURKEY TO BUY UP TO DOLS 175 MILLION IN ARMS ANNUALLY. IN 1976, THE FORD ADMINISTRATION NEGOTIATED A DEFENSE AGREEMENT THAT CALLED FOR REOPENING THE BASES, ENDING THE EMBARGO AND ALLOWING TURKEY DOLS 1 BILLION IN MILITARY AID OVER FOUR YEARS.

HOWEVER, CONGRESS SHELVED THE AGREEMENT, PUSHING THE PROBLEM OVER TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. ALTHOUGH CARTER HAS BEEN UNDER PRESSURE FROM HIS MILITARY ADVISERS TO SEEK AN ACCOMMODATION WITH TURKEY, HE HAS HESITATED UNTIL

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NOW BECAUSE OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IN-
VOLVED IN ANTAGONIZING THE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

LAST YEAR, CARTER DECIDED NOT TO SEEK CONGRESSIONAL APPRO-
VAL OF THE TURKISH DEFENSE AGREEMENT UNTIL GREECE AND
TURKEY SHOWED SIGNS OF PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE
CYPRUS PROBLEM.

BUT, THAT LINKAGE HAS BEEN REJECTED BY ECEVIT, WHO TOOK
OFFICE IN JANUARY. DURING RECENT WEEKS, HE HAS THREATEN-
ED THAT, UNLESS WASHINGTON ACTED QUICKLY, TURKEY WOULD
WITHDRAW PERMANENTLY THE U.S. RIGHTS TO BASES THERE AND
BEGIN REMOVING TURKISH MILITARY UNITS FROM NATO CONTROL.

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TO UNDERSCORE HIS THREAT, ECEVIT BEGAN DROPPING HINTS THAT
HE WOULD BOYCOTT A SUMMIT MEETING OF NATO LEADERS PLANNED

FOR WASHINGTON ON MAY 30 AND 31. THAT, AND SUCH OTHER
SIGNS OF HIS INCREASING RESTIVENESS AS AN ANNOUNCEMENT
THAT HE IS PLANNING A TRIP TO MOSCOW, CAUSED CARTER TO
SEND CHRISTOPHER ON THIS WEEK'S HASTILY ARRANGED MISSION
TO ANKARA.

IN DISCUSSING THE AGREEMENT WORKED OUT THERE, THE SOURCES
SAID IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE PLAN TO CONTINUE TURKISH
MILITARY AID ON A YEAR-TO-YEAR BASIS WILL GIVE IT THE SAME
LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE CALLED FOR BY THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT.

UNDER THE DEFENSE PACT, THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE PRO-
VIDED TURKEY WITH MILITARY GRANTS AND CREDITS OF DOLS 250
MILLION ANNUALLY FOR FOUR YEARS.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S MILITARY AID BUDGET REQUESTS
TO CONGRESS FOR THE 1979 FISCAL YEAR MAKE NO PROVISION
FOR GRANTS AND ASK TURKISH SALES CREDITS OF DOLS 175
MILLION.

AS OF NOW, THE SOURCES SAID, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE
ADMINISTRATION WILL SEEK TO INCREASE THIS FISCAL 1979 RE-
QUEST, EVEN IF THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT PROVES ACCEPTABLE
TO CONGRESS.

AS TO ENSUING YEARS, THE SOURCES SAID, IT IS DOUBTFUL
THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL BEEF UP ITS ANNUAL REQUESTS
TO A LEVEL APPROXIMATING THE DOLS 250 MILLION THAT TURKEY
WOULD HAVE RECEIVED UNDER THE DEFENSE PACT. END QUOTE COOPER

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